565*
511

total expenditures for food, just half in total value of what Class A spends. Both Class A and Class B spend more for food alone than the total expenditures of classes C and D. The rural field workers spend the least amount for food, which again reflects their possession of garden plots.

565*
563
826

Color consciousness runs all through class relations and can even be equated with class to a certain extent. All Class A members are white; Class B has whites and a mixture of the others; Class C is nearly entirely composed of mestiços and blacks with the exception of a few "whites of the land" who are usually considered separately from mestiços; while Class D has light mestiços as well as blacks. "Color consciousness, or "color relations," would better describe the situation in this Bahian rural area than would the term "race relations," for although the Portuguese word raça, directly translatable into English as race, is used in this area to designate the three major racial stocks, American Indian, Negro, and Caucasian, it also means Brazilian in the sense of nationality. It is even more commonly used to describe animals which are pedigreed in contrast with those which are not. When asked questions about race, people are apt to ask first what kind of race is meant. If one speaks of color the situation is much clearer.

563
826
[171]

In the United States an absolute "line" is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, whatever his percentage of Negro heritage may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this "line" is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is "pure" white and who is not. Classification by color is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. Recôncavo Bahians feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a "pure" white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro, or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or describe minutely each person; they classify according to skin color, hair form, and facial features. Their classifications of physical types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's color and hair form.

In the Recôncavo a white person is called a branco. The term Negro is rarely used to denote a person of African de-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

563
826

scent. Rather, such a person is called homem de côr (man of color). Negro is used abstractly to denote the Negro race, but it is almost never used to single out an individual. Nêgo (a softened variation of the word Negro) may frequently be used as a term of endearment, even among whites, and it is sometimes used as a nickname. When a Bahian of the Recôncavo speaks of indio, he usually thinks of the Indian of the interior of Mato Grosso or of the Amazon. When he wishes to indicate people of American Indian physical type in the Recôncavo, he generally says caboclo, or caatingueiro, or sometimes sertanejo.

Even the whites are subclassified, divided into two categories, the louro (blond), and the moreno (brunet). There is still a third term for people with Caucasoid physical characteristics, namely branco da terra (white of the land). This term denotes one who is phenotypically white, that is, who has the physical characteristics of a Caucasoid--fair skin, fine features, and "good" (meaning "straight") hair--but whose ancestry has Negro blood. He is generally moreno (dark) and is frequently characterized by a slightly yellowish tinge to the skin. The branco da terra sometimes also shows traces of caboclo, as well as Negro and white, descent. In Vila Recôncavo, the "pure" white man may refer to such a person as a branco da terra but will ordinarily call him a branco. To the majority of the population, the branco da terra is always called white, and no one would ever call anyone a branco da terra to his face. He is accorded the same treatment as is any white person by both whites and nonwhites.

In classifying people, skin color is an important factor, but hair form is equally important. If there is any question about what to call a person, his hair is usually the deciding criterion. After skin and hair, facial features (prognathism, nose shape, and thickness of lips) are considered. The many designations used in Vila Recôncavo for the people of Negroid or mixed ancestry can be broken down roughly as follows:

1. The preto or preto retinto ("dark black") has black, shiny skin, kinky, woolly hair, thick lips, and a flat, broad nose. The pretos distinguish among themselves as to what they call qualidade (quality), and rank themselves according to minute differences in skin color, nose form, etc. The preto with the greatest "quality" is the farthest removed from the usual concept of a Negro, and yet he is still a black. He is a "prettier" black.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA REC^A ÔNCAVO

563
826

2. The cabra (male) and cabrocha (female) are generally slightly lighter than the preto, with hair growing somewhat longer, but still kinky and unmanageable, facial features somewhat less Negroid, although often with fairly thick lips and flat nose. The cabra and cabrocha usually lack the definite facial features and shine of the preto.

3. The Cabo Verde is lighter than the preto, but still very dark. The Cabo Verde, however, has long, straight hair, and his facial features are apt to be very fine, with thin lips and a narrow, straight nose. He is almost a "black white man."

4. The escuro, or simply "dark man," is darker than the usual run of mestiços, but the term is generally applied to a person who does not fit into one of the three types mentioned above. The escuro is nearly but not quite a Negro with Caucasoid features. He usually has "quality." Escuro is a very useful term for the outsider in the Recôncavo.

5. The mulato is a category always divided into two types, the mulato escuro and mulato claro (dark and light mulattoes). The mulato has hair which grows perhaps to shoulder length, but which has a decided curl or even kink. It can, however, be straightened. The mulato's facial features vary widely: thick lips with a narrow nose, or vice versa. As a rule, the features are "thicker" than the branco's and "thinner" than the preto's. The mulato is generally distinguishable by a yellowish tinge to his skin color, more accentuated than that of the branco da terra. His skin color varies from very light to very dark. A mulato claro, with straightened hair, thin lips, and a "good" nose, is very much like the branco da terra.

6. Pardo is a term not often used in speech. It is one of the official classifications used in the census and on identification papers. However, it is used occasionally to describe an individual who is closer to the white than a mulato claro. Occasionally mestiço children are described as pardo during the early years of their lives, before their features become distinctive enough to fit them definitely into one of the other groups. In one case, a little girl of three was called parda by her mother. The girl lives with her godfather, who is a branco da terra. He lists the girl as white, since her skin is very light and her hair is growing long and only slightly wavy. But her mother says she is a parda, because she knows that "her hair may curl up any day, which would make her a mulata clara."

7. The sararâ is not difficult to distinguish. He has very

Ts Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

563
.826

light skin, and hair which is reddish or blondish but kinky or curled. His facial features are extremely varied, even more so than the mulato's. There are sararás who would "pass" for white in the United States, but more often the sararé has an unusual appearance: skin which is neither dark nor light, frequently freckled, eyes with a greenish-blue cast, and hair which bleaches easily in the sun. In Vila Recôncavo the sararé is usually found among fishermen and those living on the islands. It is difficult to find a person of this physical type without a good suntan and bleached hair.

8. The moreno has "excellent" skin, "fine-textured" and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again a distinction is made between the dark and light morenos; also between these and the moreno branco. Moreno, as used regarding the white, distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit completely into any of these "racial" types. When one has all the defined characteristics of the preto people call him "bem preto" or "bem pretinho" (really black). The same is true of the sararé, bem sararé; or of the moreno, who is called bem moreninho or moreno fino. It is just as difficult to find the ideal type for the other classifications, because there are so many variations. Many times one must point out that an individual is predominantly of one physical type but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an escuro, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as moreno. He has "fine" skin and "thin" facial features, but has tight, kinky hair. People generally refer to him as moreno, adding, "Mas ele tem cabelo ruim" (But he has bad hair). One frequently hears, "He is mulato, but very light." These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

A term of classification not listed above, caboclo, is something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with American Indian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the sertão during the dry spells of the north. In view of the length of time that people of the north have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few

563
826

have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo shows a considerable Indian element, that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin color, more prominent cheekbones than the Africans or whites, and a tendency toward an almond-shaped eye. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called caboclos. They are classified instead in the local terms mentioned above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the caboclo. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo. He is often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, and frugal, but less genial than the easygoing person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many caboclo men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the resident workers of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the sertão, apart from the permanent workers.

[157]

[571]

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types:

[162]

Preto	50, or 40 per cent
Mulato	59, or 49 per cent
Caboclo	3, or 2 per cent
Branco	11, or 9 per cent

563
826
157

Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a series of personality traits correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behavior reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types. Two physical types, for example, the cabra-cabrocha and the sararâ, are usually "more to be pitied than censured," for they are considered ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types, and "even a preto de qualidade is better than either of these--at least more handsome." Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with. They are sometimes irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types least preferred in Vila Recôncavo; all oth-

Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

563
826
157 ers have some positive qualities. People arrange their preferences in many ways, according to the physical qualities they wish to emphasize.

563
578
557 There is also a series of expressions used by everyone to describe the person who is trying to appear white. It is almost axiomatic that whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms "tem pinta" (has a "touch of the tarbrush"), or "tem sangue" (has Negro blood), or "é da raça" (is of the Negro race), or simply "besta" (show-off), "cheio de arte" (artful), "cheio de manha" (full of little tricks), or "fala bonito" (talks pretty).

563
578 There are also many phrases used by lower-class people to ridicule Negroes and mestiços who are showing off, or "pushing." Most of these start off with Negro:

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

563
125 The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field. A series of eight photographs were shown. These were of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire. They consisted of a male and a female representative of each of the four major racial types, the caboclo, the preto, the mulato, and the branco. An attempt was made to keep the photographs from giving any clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo.
[159] The picture of the caboclo male was that of a middle-aged man, but of a type considered locally as having a strong personality, while the caboclo woman was older and certainly not simpatica (pleasant) in the local view. The two pretos were both unmistakably pretos, and both young. The mulato male and female differed one from the other, for the man was definitely a common mulato type, while the woman was almost

21 Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1980-1981) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA 'RECÔNCAVO

563
125

a morena mulata rather than "pure" mulata. She was young and considered much more simpatica than any of the other three women presented. The two whites were also both young, but neither was distinguished in any way, and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were "pure" white or not.

The questionnaire was given to eighty-five people, broken down into the following groups:

18 brancos	11 males	7 females
41 mulatos	21 males	20 females
18 pretos	7 males	11 females
8 cabocios	6 males	2 females
85	45	40

563
125
157
826
577

Table 6 gives the results as to which racial types were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest, and most religious.

TABLE 6
PHYSICAL TYPES

Question	Number of people selected in 1st place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Caboclo
Most attractive man	39*	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	26	3	30	26
Most wealthy man	27	11	9	38
Most wealthy woman	37	8	17	23
Best worker (man)	4	38	13	30
Best worker (woman)	7	22	23	33
Most honest man	11	22	8	44
Most honest woman	15	13	22	33
Most religious man	21	15	13	36
Most religious woman	17	11	17	40

*Underlined numbers indicate the group most frequently selected in first place.

From Table 6 it becomes clear that the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; and that the numerically indicated preference for the female type is the mulata--but the cabocla, it must be noted, is equally selected with the white.

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

563
125
157
826
577

Both the mulata and the cabocla (despite her apparent age) of the photographs are of types which have the physical characteristics of the morena, so preferred in Vila Recôncavo. It is surprising that the caboclo male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest; but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photograph of the caboclo to have a rather "distinguished" face, while the white on the photograph was felt to be a young man with what might be considered a "characterless" face. The preto man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, while the cabocla was chosen as the best woman worker. This may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: "Good for nothing else." The caboclos, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the caboclo, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table 7, a breakdown of Table 6 by racial types, shows clearly the types selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites, and the caboclos.

TABLE 7
BREAKDOWN OF TABLE 6 BY RACIAL TYPES

Question	Chosen in first place by: Pretos(P)	Mulatos(M)	Brancos(B)	Caboclos(C)
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C&B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker (man)	P	C	P	P
Best worker (woman)	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C&M	C	C	C&B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

*Where two racial types are in first place it means they received an equal number of "votes."

Table 7 shows the extremely low position of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in the first

VILA RECÔNCAVO

563
125
157
826*
577

place in only one instance--namely, as best worker--and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table 6 the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen as such only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the caboclo and the white woman. In summing up the total number of "votes," the mulatto woman won by the narrow margin of four. It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the preto man as the wealthiest, selecting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types selected the caboclo first.

563
55

Most people who desire to ascend socially will say that it is better to be white, or at least light, than dark, because it is the white who has the most money, the most education, and consequently the greatest number of opportunities. Traditionally the light-skinned mulatto has been able to share to some extent in these things. Therefore, today, if an individual is lighter it will be easier for him to climb, simply because of his lightness. Nevertheless, it is considered better to be a wealthy preto than a poor white.

563
565*

No one in any class likes a marriage in which the skin colors are too far apart. Any marriage of dark with light or white will be referred to as mosca no leite ("fly in the milk"), and a certain repugnance is felt by all. One man, formerly a fisherman but now a merchant of some means, is a preto married to a branca da terra who was poor but almost white. This marriage has not aided him much, as his wife did not bring him social position, but it has "lightened" his children. His own status is increased through his financial transactions. But his children are being educated in the city, and are more readily acceptable because of their color and their economic background. Their chances for a good marriage are greater than if they had the same background but were dark.

In another case, a white girl of the town's uppermost class is engaged to a preto who is an engineer in Salvador, but whose family has roots in Vila Recôncavo. There was great resistance to the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that although she had a good "catch"--that is, a successful man--he was too dark for her, in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a branco da terra, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

The one impassable gap between the upper class of "aristocratic whites" and those below them is marriage. The white of the second class may be acceptable to the upper class be-

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

*565 291 During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or with both shirt and shorts, depending upon the weather. Girls always wear a dress. Children who are in the crawling stage *565 515 854 become extremely dirty because of the amount of dirt tracked into the house from the streets, although this is now changing as a result of paving. Babies, however, seem to have a propensity for getting into the charcoal sack, usually kept near the kitchen stove, and emerging well blackened. They are bathed twice daily, morning and afternoon, at first in cold water to accustom them to the cold water they will be using for [853] the rest of their lives. Bathing the child is usually considered a pleasure for the mother as well as the baby, as is breast *565 143 feeding. If the child of light-skinned parents exhibits the genipapo (a bluish spot near the base of the spine, sometimes • [826] known as the "Mongolian blue spot") the mothers will take care not to let visitors see it, as the spot is thought to be a strong indication of the nearness of Negro ancestry. It disappears after the child is seven or eight months old.

*565 515 The men and older boys of Class C take their daily baths in the afternoon, either at one of the two wells which are behind the convent and therefore out of sight of the town, or at wooden structures which have been built across the wells in the Cortume. They stand on a wooden floor and drop a small bucket on a string down into the water, which is hoisted up and poured over them, running back into the well with the soap suds and whatever grime has come off their skin. Frequently a woman when getting water will undress her son on the spot and pour buckets of water over him. This is not done after a boy has reached five years or six, however, and is never done to a girl of any age. The women and girls take a daily sponge bath in their kitchens late in the afternoon, before *565 514 starting to fix the evening meal. None of the houses has toi- [124] let facilities other than a secluded place in the back yard. During a survey of housing facilities in the town, when the question was asked, "Do you have a toilet?" the answer was usually laughingly given, "What for?" (But practically everyone knows what a toilet is, and there are several different *565 291 types in the town, belonging to upper-class houses. The con- [515] struction of a flush type, with an adequate cesspool, has been [513] known for many years.) After the daily bath most people put on clean clothes in which they often sleep, although sleeping garments range from daytime clothing to long nightgowns, shorts, or nothing at all. Daytime clothing for the men consists of little more than trousers, shirt, and wooden shoes

249
471
567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period,
565 the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane
463 and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests.
[582] Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of
463 Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
464 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations
[427] to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
567 abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.
249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and

[826]
[178]

[1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *cabra*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 39 ff.

The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores) and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful *sobrados* of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the *engenhos*), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost 1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangó* and shrimps.

IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line' is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely describe each person; they classify according to skin colour, according to hair form and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and hair.

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1963
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Vila Recôncavo

563
192

In the Recôncavo three race stocks are recognized: the white, the Negro and the Indian. A white is called a *branco*. The term *negro* is rarely used to denote a person of African descent. Rather such a person is called *homem de côr* (man of colour). *Negro* is used abstractly to denote the Negro race, but is almost never used to single out an individual. *Nego* (a softened variation of the word *negro*) may frequently be used as a term of endearment, even among whites, and sometimes as a nickname. When the *bahiano* of the Recôncavo speaks of *índio*, he usually thinks of the Indian of the interior of Mato Grosso or of the Amazon. When he wishes to indicate people of American Indian physical type in the Recôncavo, he generally says *caboclo*.

563
192
826

Yet even the whites are sub-classified, being divided into two categories, the *louro* (blond) and the *moreno* (brunet). There is still a third term for people with Caucasoid physical characteristics, but one which is used only by those who are considered 'pure' white—namely, *branco da terra*. A *branco da terra* is someone who is phenotypically white—that is, who has the physical characteristics of a Caucasoid: fair skin, fine features and 'good' (meaning *straight*) hair—but whose ancestry had Negro blood. He or she is generally *moreno*, and is frequently characterized by a slightly yellowish tinge to the skin. The *branco da terra* sometimes also shows traces of *caboclo* blood as well as of Negro and white blood. In Vila Recôncavo, the 'pure' white man may refer to such a person as a *branco da terra*, but ordinarily will call him or her a *branco*. To the majority of the population, the *branco da terra* is always called white, and no one would ever call anyone a *branco da terra* to his face. He is accorded the same treatment as a white by both whites and non-whites, and there is no constraint on anyone's part.

In classifying people, if skin colour is an important factor, hair form is equally important. If there is any question as to what to call a person, the hair is generally the deciding criterion. After skin and hair, facial features (prognathism, nose shape and thickness of lips) are considered. The many designations used in Vila Recôncavo for the people of Negroid or mixed ancestry can be broken down roughly into the following types in terms of these various criteria:

1. The *preto* or *preto retinto* (black) has black shiny skin, kinky, woolly hair, thick lips and a flat, broad nose. The *pretos* distinguish among themselves, and will rank themselves according to minute differences in 'quality' of skin colour, nose form, etc. The *preto* with the most '*qualidade*' is the farthest from the usual concept of a Negro, and yet still a black. He is a 'prettier' black.
2. The *cabra* (male) and *cabrocha* (female) are generally slightly lighter than the *preto*, with hair growing somewhat longer, but still kinky and unmanageable, facial features somewhat less Negroid, although often with fairly thick lips and flat nose.

563
192
826

'The *cabra* and *cabrocha* generally lack the definite features and shine of the *preto*.

3. The *cabo verde* is slightly lighter than the *preto*, but still very dark. The *cabo verde*, however, has long straight hair, and his facial features are apt to be very fine, with thin lips and a narrow straight nose. He is almost a 'black white man'.
4. The *escuro*, or simply 'dark man', is darker than the usual run of *mestiços*, but the term is generally applied to a person who does not fit into one of the three types mentioned above. The *escuro* is almost a Negro with Caucasoid features. He generally has *qualidade*. *Escuro* is a very useful term for the outsider in the Recôncavo.
5. The *mulato* is a category always divided into two types, the *mulato escuro* and *mulato claro* (dark and light mulattoes). The *mulato* has hair which grows perhaps to shoulder length, but which has a decided curl and even kink. It can, however, be straightened. The *mulato's* facial features vary widely; thick lips with a narrow nose, or vice-versa. As a rule, the features are thicker than the *branco's* and thinner than the *preto's*. The *mulato* is generally distinguishable by a yellowish tinge to his skin colour, which is more accentuated than that of the *branco da terra*. His skin colour varies from very light to very dark. A *mulato claro*, with straightened hair, thin lips and a 'good' nose is very much like the *branco da terra*.
6. *Pardo* is a term not often used in speech. It is one of the official classifications used in the census and on identification papers. However, it is used occasionally to describe an individual who is closer to the white than a *mulato claro*. Occasionally *mestiço* children are described as *pardo*, before their features become distinctive enough to fit them definitely into one of the other groups. In one case, a little girl of three was called *parda* by her mother. The girl lives with her godfather, who is a *branco da terra*. He lists the girl as white, since her skin is very light and her hair is growing long and only slightly wavy. But her mother says she is a *parda*, because she knows that 'her hair may curl up any day, which would make her a *mulata clara*'.
7. The *sarará* is not difficult to distinguish. He has very light skin, and hair which is reddish or blondish but kinky or curled. His hair is described as *duro*, or hard. His facial features are extremely varied, even more so than the *mulato's*. There are *sararás* who would 'pass' for white in the United States, but more often the *sarará* has a curious appearance; skin which is neither dark nor light, frequently freckled, eyes with a greenish-blue cast and hair which bleaches easily in the sun. In Vila Recôncavo, the *sarará* is usually found among fishermen and those living on the islands. It is difficult to see a person of this physical type without a good sun-tan and bleached hair.

563
192
826

8. The *moreno* has excellent skin, fine-textured and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again we can distinguish between the dark and light *morenos*. Also we must distinguish between the *moreno mulato*, and the *moreno* of the white families—the *moreno branco*. *Moreno*, as used regarding the 'white', distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit any of these 'racial' types 100 per cent. When someone comes very close to being a perfect *preto*—that is, has all the characteristics of the *preto*—people call him *bem preto* or *bem pretinho* (really black). The same is true of the *sarará*—*bem sarará*, or of the *moreno*, who will be called *bem moreninho* or *moreno fino*. It is just as difficult to find the perfect type for the other classifications, because there are so many variations. Often an individual is of one physical type, but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an *escuro*, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as *moreno*. He has fine skin and thin facial features, but tight kinky hair. People generally refer to him as *moreno*, adding '*mas êle tem cabelo ruim*' (but he has poor hair). One frequently hears 'he is *mulato*, but very light'. These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

563
826

A term of classification not listed above, *caboclo*, presents something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with Amerindian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the *sertão* during the dry spells in the North. Considering the length of time that people of the North have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo has a considerable *caboclo* element —that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin colour, more prominent cheek bones than the African or white elements, and a tendency toward almond-shaped eyes. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called *caboclos*. They are classified instead in the local terms listed above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the *caboclo*. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo, though often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, more frugal; also less genial than the easy-going person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many *caboclo* men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the *morador*, or resident worker of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do

563
[829]

249
563
464
466

563
826
829

V. Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a series of personality traits which are correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behaviour reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types present in the population. Two physical types, for example, the *cabra-cabrocha* and the *sarará*, are usually 'more to be pitied than blamed', as they are considered extremely ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types and 'even a *preto de qualidade* is better than either of these—at least more handsome'. Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with, irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types which are least preferred in Vila Recôncavo. All other types have some positive qualities. People arrange their preferences in terms of physical type in many ways, according to the qualities they wish to emphasize.

563
829

To the *preto* falls the more humble attributes of being a hard worker, of being humble and capable of loyalty and affection for his employer. He is also called lazy, a contradiction of hard worker. He is considered servile and cheerful. Also it is said that it is the *preto* who knows best how to please *(agradar bem)* the white. With a winning smile, pleasant little sayings and personal attentions, the *preto* knows how to make the *branco* feel important and puts him in the mood to grant favours. In other words, he is a good 'apple polisher', but even this he does with a certain dignity, aware of what he is doing, and aware of the fact that the *branco* also knows. The whites say that a *preto* is usually 'content' to remain *preto*, knowing that while he cannot change his colour, perhaps future generations of his family will have changed theirs. In Vila Recôncavo, people of all racial types, not only the whites, often say that one of the things they like best about the *preto* is that he does not try to be white. No one is more ridiculed than an *homem de côr* who, because of his economic situation and other circumstances, tries to be *gente*, or white.

On the other hand, a *preto* in good economic circumstances, who lives in dignity without pretension, is well thought-of by all. There is one outstanding example of this in Vila Recôncavo. A *preto*, who is the owner of one of the neighbouring sugar plantations and who is quite wealthy, lives quietly and without pretension. His sons go to school in the capital, one to Law School and the other to High School. His relations with the white plantation owners and *usineiros* are cordial and business-like. He would be acceptable at any social gathering he chose to attend, where he would conduct himself like a gentleman, without airs. For this he is admired by all, and pointed to as an example of how the *preto* can conduct himself.

563
125

7 females; 41 *mulatos*—21 males, 20 females; 18 *pretos*—7 males, 11 females; 8 *caboclos*—6 males, 2 females.

563
125
826
577
829

Table I gives the racial types which were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest and most religious.

TABLE I.

Question	No. of people who selected in first place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Cabocla
Most attractive man	39	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	26	3	30	26
Most wealthy man	27	11	9	38
Most wealthy woman	37	8	17	23
Best worker, man	4	38	13	30
Best worker, woman	7	22	23	33
Most honest man	11	22	8	44
Most honest woman	15	13	22	38
Most religious man	21	15	13	36
Most religious woman	17	11	17	40

(Bold type indicates the group most frequently selected in first place.)

From Table I, it results that: (a) the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; (b) the preferred female type is the *mulata*, but the *cabocla*, it must be noted, is almost equally selected with the white; both the *mulata* and the *cabocla* (despite her apparent age) of the photos are of types which have the physical characteristics of the *morena* so preferred in Vila Recôncavo; (c) surprisingly, the *caboclo* male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest, but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photo of the *caboclo* to have a rather 'distinguished' face, while the photo of the white was considered to be a young man with what might be considered a 'characterless' face; (d) the *preto* man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, but the *cabocla* was chosen as the best woman worker (this may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: 'Good for nothing else'); (e) the *caboclos*, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the *caboclo*, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table II, a breakdown of Table I by racial types, shows clearly the type selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites and the *caboclos*, in answer to the same questionnaire. The most obvious inference derived from Table II is the extremely low posi-

563
125
826
577
829

tion of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in first place in only one instance, namely as best worker, and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table I the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen so only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the *caboclo*

TABLE II.

Question	Chosen in first place by			
	Negroes	Mulattoes	Whites	Caboclos
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C & B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker, man	P	C	P	P
Best worker, woman	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C & M	C	C	C & B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

(P—*preto*; B—*branco*; C—*caboclo*; M—*mulato*. Where two racial types are in first place, they received an equal number of 'votes'.)

and the white woman. In summing up the total number of 'votes', the mulatto woman won by a narrow margin (four votes). It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the *preto* man as the most wealthy, putting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types put the *caboclo* first.

563
249
361

VI. There is a saying in the Recôncavo that where there was sugar, there were Negroes. This rule of thumb seems to hold remarkably well even today. On the islands in the bay where there never were *engenhos*, there are few *pretos*. In the town of Vila Recôncavo, and in a small settlement to the west of Vila Recôncavo where there never was an *engenho*, there are relatively few *pretos*, in comparison with the area of *engenhos* and plantations. The region as a whole can be shaded off in dark and light, to distinguish roughly the spatial arrangement according to colour. In the areas where there was and is sugar, there are many more *gente branqueada* (whitened people) than in the non-plantation areas.

563

These lightened areas seem to continue to lighten, while the darker areas retain their dark characteristics. In Vila Recôncavo, which is a *mestiço* community, there is much more opportunity for

3t Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1963 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

565
563
178
[369]

creasing desire to rise in the social hierarchy. In the rural districts physical type is less important than in the town, since there is less chance for one to rise socially, the positions of prestige being highly limited. But in the town and at the *usina*, the opportunities are greater, and therefore more emphasis is put upon racial type; although, even in the town, racial type is not the most important criterion for ascending the social scale, the most important being the possession of wealth and education. However, in the town, people who have wealth and education also show a tendency to 'lighten', generation after generation, as well as to ascend socially. There is no such thing as 'passing' in Vila Recôncavo, and there is no need for it, for many individuals who clearly show traces of Negro ancestry are called white and treated as white, with no constraint or embarrassment. Also there are no social activities closed to the *homem de côr*, provided he has the money and the education to take advantage of them. Physical attraction is also extremely important in the social acceptance of rejection of people, as is shown in the complicated fashion of classifying and stereotyping individuals, and the idealization of the *morena*.

[826]

In other areas of the Recôncavo, the personal element has been lost to a great extent, and has been replaced with a rigid class system, based upon wealth, personal initiative, education, racial type and 'luck'. For the most part, the tradition of the *patrão* is disappearing and people are more dependent upon their own resources in a more strictly monetary economy. Vila Recôncavo still however remains sufficiently isolated to preserve much of the tradition of the past, of easy-going personal relations between people of all classes and racial types.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

000

1. For example, Diegues Júnior (1949).
2. Wanderley de Araújo Pinho (1941), p. 28.
3. Ibid., p. 29.
4. Oliveira Martins (3rd edition), p. 30.
5. Araújo Pinho, op. cit., p. 49.
6. Pierson (1942), p. 139.
7. Ibid., p. 230.
8. Rodrigues (1935), Chapter 7. Pierson (1942), Chapter 10. Landis (1947). Carneiro (1948).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll •
BRAZIL SLI

"Branco" and "prêto" are, therefore, first of all, categories of *physical appearance* rather than of race, so that a child will not necessarily be identified with the same "race" as one, or even both, of his parents. These terms also are categories of *social position*, so that rising in rank can take a colored person out of the colored category, a fact observed long ago at Recife by "the careful Koster," as Sir Richard Burton called him (see p. 219 of this book). These and similar terms employed in Brazil are descriptive not only of racial descent but of other and more important (to local individuals) phenomena; and, even more significantly, as we (1955:434) and others have pointed out, the use of these terms *varies with individuals*, in keeping with varying personal relationships, and also with the *same* individual at different times, in keeping with different moods or other circumstances.

In the United States one ordinarily hears only two terms being employed regularly in this connection: "Negro" and "white." "Mulatto" also is used but less often, as are certain other terms in popular speech. Nevertheless, as far as the behavior of the superordinate group is concerned, the principal terms are two; and all persons will be classified with reference to these two categories and behavior will be oriented in keeping with that classification.

In Brazil, on the other hand, the situation is quite different; for one thing, there exists a whole series of what at

group of persons from the lower class were engaged in a folk dance, accompanied by singing, known as *cururu*. Although composed largely (but not exclusively) of colored persons, this group was led by a lower-class white. Approaching several other persons nearby, who were spending their vacation at the seaside, and asking if they would like his group to sing and dance where they could be seen and heard more easily, the white leader referred to himself and to the other members of his group as "Nois prêtos" (We blacks).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SL1
B
BB
121
563
192
826

first sight appears to be racial terms. "It is not simply a matter of black and white," Harry W. Hutchinson (1957: 120) has observed, "but of all the shades in between." In 1935, without making any particular effort, we set down at Bahia twenty terms being used to describe the different "colors" (135–40 and elsewhere in this book); and, in 1951, Thales de Azevedo (1955a:25–32) recorded a considerable number being used at that time in Bahia. In 1951 also, Hutchinson (1963) noted, according to our calculation, twenty-one of these terms in the old plantation area near the city; Marvin Harris (1963) recorded nine at Minas Velhas, also in the Bahian interior; and Ben Zimmerman (1963), fifteen at Monte Serrat in another part of the State. More recently after setting out to track down all such terms, Harris and Kottak (203n) reported thirty-nine (according to our reckoning) in common use at the fishing village of Arembepe on the Bahian coast. Manuel Diégues Júnior (1956:74–76) mentions twenty-four terms employed for mixed-bloods, alone, in various parts of Brazil, only five of which are referred to by any of these investigators.

To refer, then, to persons of African descent in Brazil as "Negroes," as some investigators from the United States and also some writers in Brazil tend to do, distorts the "picture"; and to refer to the vast range of Negro-European mixed-bloods as "mulattoes," as some of these writers also do, is equally an erroneous procedure. At the same time, this series of terms is highly significant for an analysis of the Brazilian racial situation, particularly in indicating some of its differences from those in South Africa and the United States.

B
BB
121
563

What, then, is the meaning, as far as actual behavior is concerned, of this extensive series of what appears to be

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

racial terms? In the first place, they are not racial terms at all; and, in the second place, they are only in part terms even of physical appearance. Although the classification of a given individual appears *at first sight* to be made on the basis of race, or at least of physical appearance, it actually is arrived at in a more complex way, as was implied in our Bahian study, as Harris (1964) and Harris and Kottak (1963) have since pointed out more specifically and in greater detail. It may, of course, be derived in part from physical appearance; but it also is derived from the possession of one or more of the other criteria of rank; for instance, personal, occupational or educational achievement; or the accumulation of wealth. This fact has long been reflected at Bahia in the common saying, "A rich black is a white man, and a poor white is a black"; in Koster's oft-quoted remark of his servant's disputing the ascription of "mulatto" to a man of high administrative position at Recife, by asking "How can a Head-Captain be a mulatto?"; and in Wagley's report of a dark mixed-blood of rank at Itá who is considered to be a branca (1964:134). Moreover, it reflects the personal relationship, at the time, of the speaker to the one spoken about. As Emilio Willems[5] reminds us, a person "who is one's friend tends to be a branco; or if he is too dark to be called that, he will be at least a *moreno* (brunette). But if he becomes one's enemy, he is called 'that mulatto' or 'that black,' " with pejorative adjectives attached.

Brazilians are not blind to physical differences. No investigator has indicated any doubt that a person's appearance—particularly the texture of his hair and the color of his skin—are observed, and at least occasionally referred to, by all Brazilians, whatever their rank. However, at Arem-

[5] In a letter to the author.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

bepe Harris and Kottak (204) found "as many as thirteen different terms" being applied to the same person by different members of the community; and these terms, although used to describe a single individual, were "spread out across practically the entire spectrum of theoretical racial types" (Harris 1964:57). This variation could not have been due to differences in economic condition, educational achievement or similar circumstance, because, Harris and Kottak further point out (204), Arembepe is "a socially homogeneous, one-class peasant community." Moreover, there was a variation from individual to individual regarding the precise meaning of these terms; and, in addition, an informant might alter his previous classification at a later time. Thus, the use of these terms, Harris and Kottak write, in summarizing their study, "varies from individual to individual, from place to place, time to time, test to test, observer to observer." Agreement was found with reference to the two terms which describe the opposite poles of the color scale, but informants disagreed regarding all the other thirty-seven terms (206n). Wagley (1964:133–34) found similar inconsistencies at Itá in the Amazon valley.

What does all this ambiguity and inconsistency mean? It means, first of all, that, in Bahia and Brazil, among the lower class and perhaps beyond it, neither race nor color is an important consideration. Although persons often refer to a given individual as "that branco" or "that prêto," this is done, Wagley (1964:133) observed at Itá, "in about the same way that we might say 'that short fat fellow.' " Other things exist of at least as great importance, including educational achievement, family origin, type of occupation, financial resources, living level, and possibly other criteria. When a given individual is classified by another in any rank of the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SL1

B
BB
121 *
563 *
826 •

However, if we substitute for "race" the term "color," we find other and equally significant ambiguities. In fact, in order to be better understood by persons who are not familiar at first hand with the Brazilian, or with some other Latin-American "racial" situation, we need a more precise term even than color. "Color" is, of course, the literal translation of the widely-used Portuguese *côr*. As employed in Brazil in this connection, however, it connotes more than pigmentation, including, first of all, a number of other physical characteristics: hair-type (perhaps most importantly), as well as facial features. It thus might be well to employ in English the phrase "physical appearance" instead of "color," except that, in the first place, this term also is somewhat ambiguous, since extraneous connotations of cleanliness or neatness, deformity or other abnormality, and beauty or ugliness can be inferred from it; and except that, in the second place (and more importantly), "color," as used in Brazil in this connection, does not refer, as we have seen, merely to physical appearance. Faced with these facts, H. Hoetink (638) suggests the substitution of the phrase, "somatic norm-image" for "race"; and Oracy Nogueira (1959), in a related connection, uses "mark" for physical appearance and "origin" for racial descent, although James G. Leyburn (179) and Lloyd Braithwaite (182) see objections to this usage.

In an effort to describe more precisely the multi-racial societies in the Caribbean, M. G. Smith (51 ff.) distinguishes between four different types of "color." With reference to genetic aspects, he employs "phenotypical color" to refer to appearance, and "genealogical color" to refer to racial descent. Two appearance-type persons may be dissimilar in terms of "genealogical color," then, while two genealogically identical individuals (for example, siblings) frequently are

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SL1

a nation more Caucasian in physical appearance." In addition, one should further note, as Willems has also suggested to us, that an aspect of this policy has become to some extent more formal and articulate in recent years. As we have defined it, this informal and unstated policy reflects a desire to absorb all minority groups—whether immigrant[40] or of color; but discrimination on the basis of either color or race obviously can stand in the way of its realization. It is with reference to this obstacle that Willems believes the policy has become more articulate, as reflected in the law of 1951, which gives legal negative sanction to discrimination in any form, a law passed overwhelmingly by the Brazilian Congress. It is reflected also in the committee reports and discussions inside and outside Congress which accompanied the enactment of this law; in the decidedly vocal and positive opposition on the part of Brazilian organs of public opinion to the occasional evidences of color discrimination upon which public attention becomes focused; and even, as Willems also points out, in the anti-racist militancy of colored organizations in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

Although the basic facts seem to have been observed and reported in the original study, not all were given, perhaps, the relative prominence they deserved in the hypotheses which terminated it. One might add to these hypotheses certain apparent facts to which attention is called, to some extent at least, in the course of this book:

1. A large number of popular terms have arisen which seem to designate the various racial combinations in the population. However, a) these terms are descriptive not so much of racial descent as (1) of the actual physical appearance of the individual in question, and (2) of his social

[40] Cf., in this respect, Nogueira 1955:552; Pierson 1951:191.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

B
BB
56
554
826
121

rank; b) they may vary with the person employing them, and with the same person at different times and under different circumstances, and especially with the status of the individual being referred to and with the relation of the speaker to him.

2. Caucasian physical traits possess prestige and also disproportionate aesthetic value among all social ranks and colors,[41] although the local "somatic norm-image," in the phrase of Hoetink (1961), is considerably "darker" than that in the United States, as is borne out, for instance, in attitudes toward the *morena* (see pp. 136–38).

3. The rise in rank of colored persons, a) occurs primarily by reason of demonstrated personal or occupational competence, educational achievement, the accumulation of financial resources, or fortuituous circumstance; b) is sometimes aided by brancos who are linked by parental, godparent or other bonds of sentiment to the individual in question (cf. pp. 353 ff.); and c) is accomplished by individuals *as individuals*, so that conflict on the basis of either color or class is relatively subdued (cf. Thales de Azevedo 1955a:195).

4. In their attempts to rise in rank, persons of color are handicapped by the fact that color has long been identified in Brazil with a slave condition and hence became, long ago, a criterion of rank. This is the role of dark color logically to be expected, given the history of slavery in Brazil and the Americas, where slaves for centuries were blacks taken from Africa by Europeans and their descendants, who possessed a more advanced technology, to labor on their plantations and

[41] With the possible exception of a few colored intellectuals, particularly in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, who deliberately seek to valorize "negritude" (blackness), although their attitudes in this respect seem to be rather ambivalent.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOIl Bahia Brazilians SOIl
BRAZIL SLI

in their placer mines. However, had this "historic accident" been of reverse character, that is, had Africa at the time of the discovery and early exploitation of the Americas itself possessed technological superiority, and had Africans and their descendants then discovered America and taken to work on *their* plantations European slaves from a Europe of less advanced technological development, dark color—and not white—would today, in all likelihood, carry prestige. Being white would then probably be a decided disadvantage, a definite handicap, since long ago white color would have become a criterion of inferior rank; and whites would then want to be black and to have children blacker than themselves.

5. However, the restraining influence of color in Brazil today, a) varies inversely with its intensity (as do all the other criteria of rank); b) is not the determining criterion, as in South Africa or the United States, but only one of a series of conditioning circumstances, similar (as far as most persons are concerned) to those with reference to age, sex, lack of personal competence, lack of skills, lack of financial resources, or lack of education; c) varies with the individual and with circumstance; d) may change permanently during an individual's lifetime; e) may be less significant than some observers have thought; and f) may be tending to decrease, as more individuals demonstrate their ability to overbalance the restraining influence of color by the accumulation of other criteria of rank (provided, of course, that changes now under way in the economic and sociological structures do not alter this trend).

6. Although cases of discrimination involving colored persons undoubtedly occur, they are not necessarily due exclusively to color. In any given case, the circumstances are com-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOII Bahia Brazilians SOII

grew up during slavery, and no circumstance has subsequently arisen to change it. In the United States, on the other hand, the spread of contraceptive practices[35] and the increasing race consciousness of the Negro have led to a decided decrease in miscegenation. Traditional behavior in Bahia is, in this respect as in many others, well defined. The sanction of custom has become, as it always does eventually in any case, moral sanction.

Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the widespread custom of *mancebia*,[36] or those conjugal unions outside marriage in which there is some degree of permanency. In many cases the women involved are mulattoes, rarely blacks. The man agrees to pay for rent and food; the woman, to care for the house and children. The man may have, at the same time, a legal family, although informal unions are often entered into by young men previous to marriage.

Miscegenation is also favored in Bahia today by the prestige which ordinarily attaches to the so-called "whiter" child. Dark mothers who bear "whiter" children consider themselves especially favored and are so looked upon by their immediate associates. A black mother proudly showed her light child and said, "Estou limpando a minha raça" ("I am cleansing [i.e., I am 'whitening'] my race"). One also

[35] In Bahia there is not the fear of venereal disease common to this country. Its contraction is regarded by young men as an indication of sexual coming-of-age and perhaps enhances their prestige among their associates (cf. Freyre, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.).

[36] This term is used only in more polite conversation. The woman involved is called *manceba*, the verb is *mancebar*, and the participle *mancebado*. The popular expression, however, is *amasia*, or *amiga* (the feminine form of "friend"), or *amante*, or *comborso*, for the woman; the verb is *amasiar* or *amigar*, the participle *amasiado* or *amigado*.

4:.Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

583 *
826 •

often hears in Bahia the expression *melhorando a raca* ("improving the breed").[17]

[567]
[178]

The attitude here inferred arose during slavery, when it became a distinct privilege for a Negro woman to bear a child to her white master; for she and her progeny were thereby placed in a more advantageous position, especially as far as material benefits, and even freedom, were concerned.

João Varella, in a booklet entitled *Da Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim*, reproduces the figure of a Negro woman bearing a young child bound to her back by a wide cloth. "When the child was black and ugly," Varella writes, "he was usually carried in this fashion. If, however, he was a *coisa mais limpa* (literally, 'a cleaner thing'), he was borne in front, in his mother's arms, so that all the world might the more readily see him."

This desire "to marry whiter" is not limited to the female portion of the black population. Successful males here, as in Haiti and the United States, generally seek to insure further their status and that of their children by marrying lighter-

[1743]

[17] Of twenty-four babies delivered at the free maternity ward of Santa Isabel Hospital from Negro and mulatto mothers, four, an obstetrician thought, would grow up relatively "white," while only two appeared to be completely negroid. Although pigmentation apparently is not fixed at this early period, the appearance of *manchas* (or deeply colored "stains," called in popular speech *genipapo* after a common Brazilian fruit of a similar coffee-brown color), on either the back or buttocks is, in Bahia, commonly considered an index of subsequent dark pigmentation over the entire body. Three of the babies from dark mulatto women and one whose mother was a light mixed-blood showed no evidence of *manchas*. One dark mulatto mother, when requested, removed her child's clothing and proudly displayed his back free from these marks. The obstetrician, with a smile and a friendly pat on the mother's shoulder, inquired, "It's father was white, wasn't he?" The colored mother, pleased, replied, "I have five other children like him, all without *manchas*."

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

colored women. A common expression heard in this connection is: "I don't want to go back to Africa."

Race mixture is further favored in Bahia today by the economic and social position of the occasional immigrant, usually from Portugal or Spain. Ordinarily from the lower class, he arrives unattached, poor, and with little or no education. He meets a rigid class line and, at least during the first years, before he gains some measure of economic competence, is ordinarily cut off from a better class marriage. Moreover, in many cases he conceives of his stay as temporary. Many immigrants, especially among the Spanish, have left families in Europe to whom they expect to return once they have accumulated a sizable competence.

In his struggle to gain a footing, the immigrant soon discovers that the lower-class black or mixed-blood woman is a valuable assistant. She may become his cook and housekeeper, supplement his income by taking in washings or by preparing and peddling food delicacies, and ordinarily demands little in return. So frequently do such unions occur, especially among Portuguese immigrants, that the Portuguese have come to be popularly regarded, not only in Bahia but throughout Brazil, as peculiarly attached to Negro women.

However, as we have indicated, not all immigrant men living *amancebados* with Negro women are from Portugal. A number of the *vendas*, or small grocery stores, scattered about Bahia are owned by Spanish immigrants, many of whom live with Negro women, as similarly does occasionally an Italian, an Englishman, an American, or a German.[38]

[38] A German who had been manager of a nail factory in Bahia returned a few years ago to Germany. For sometime thereafter a Negro woman with whom he had lived and their son received 200 milreis regularly each month

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOIl Bahia Brazilians SOIl
BRAZIL SLI

in the United States always serves to call out the traditional responses long associated with variations in social status.

Today there exists in Bahia the belief that the population is gradually but persistently "whitening," a conviction difficult to understand, given the heavy preponderance of Africans among the population which originally migrated to this area and the negligible number of European immigrants in recent times.

The probable greater mortality of blacks may in part account for this change. According to a recent unpublished study, the infantile death rate among the lower classes in Bahia, which, as we have seen, are principally black and dark mulatto, is approximately twice that of the upper classes; and, in 1932, deaths under five years of age constituted nearly one-third of all deaths for that year (1,698 out of 5,407). At the same time there does not seem to be any marked difference in fertility between the races.

At any rate, Bahians frequently comment on an appreciable change in the color of the population within their memories. One continually hears remarks like that of a mixed-blood citizen who said:

> Formerly, the *pretos* (blacks) were the most numerous group in Bahia, the *pardos* (browns) next, and the *brancos* (whites) last. Today, the *pardos* are in the majority, the *brancos* next, and the *pretos* last. I am convinced that before long the *pretos* will have completely disappeared. The *brancos* will soon overtake and, in the course of time, completely absorb the *pardos*.

The mixed-bloods tend to look upon themselves as transition points in an inevitable whitening process. Pride in the present advanced stage is common, and the end result is eagerly anticipated. From the mulattoes, as from the whites, one frequently hears the declaration: "We Brazilians are

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

rapidly becoming one people. Some day not far distant there will be only *one* race in our country."

On visiting Brazil, Theodore Roosevelt once wrote: "Perhaps the attitude that the Brazilians, including the most intelligent among them, take is best symbolized by a picture which we saw in the Art Museum in Rio. It portrayed a black grandfather, a mulatto son, and a white grandchild, the evident intention of the painter being to express both the hope and the belief that the Negro was being absorbed and transformed so that he would become a white man." Quoting a Brazilian statesman, Roosevelt continued: "You speak of Brazil as having a large Negro population. Well, in a century there will not be any Negroes in Brazil, whereas you will have twenty or thirty millions of them. Then for you there will be a real and very uncomfortable problem, while for us the problem in its most menacing phase will have disappeared."[42]

It is difficult to check this general impression that the population is constantly becoming more and more European in appearance. Reliable statistics on the present distribution of the various ethnic groups are not available. No adequate data of this sort have recently been compiled by any agency. The last Brazilian census to include racial categories was taken a half-century ago, in 1890. At that time the racial division in Bahia was given as: *brancos*, 32.0 per cent; *pretos*, 26.4 per cent; and *mestiços*, 35.1 per cent.[43]

Vital statistics, however, are still recorded in the city by

[42] *Outlook*, CVI (February 21, 1914), 410–11.

[43] *Caboclos* were given as 6.5 per cent. It is difficult to understand how so large a number of Indians, or Indian mixed-bloods (the term is variously used at different times and in different places in Brazil), could have at that time existed in the city of Bahia.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SL1

color categories, three being officially recognized: *branco*, *preto*, and *pardo*. These classifications are based upon physical appearance, the principal criteria being pigmentation and hair texture. Racial intermixture has now proceeded to the point where public officials say no attempt is made to indicate ethnic distinctions. Thus the *branco* category includes many light mulattoes and the *preto* category many dark mixed-bloods.

These official color divisions directly reflect popular distinctions. It is therefore important to note that their usage indicates a shift in criterion from racial descent (as in the United States) to physical appearance; and physical appearance is a characteristic which miscegenation tends continually to modify. Whereas in the United States one drop of Negro blood, if it be known, makes a man a Negro, in Bahia many individuals are listed in the census as white (and, one might add, are so considered by their friends and associates) whose grandmothers were Negroes of pure African descent.

For instance, the grandmother of a *branco* politician who holds a responsible position in the Rio government, and who himself shows no noticeable traces of Negro ancestry, is said to have been a black woman who wore on Bahia's streets "a *saia grande* and a *panno da Costa*."[44] The *branco* wife of a prominent physician, fair and blue eyed, similarly had an African grandmother. A former governor, to all appearances white and so considered throughout the community, is only two generations removed from an African forebear. Cases might be cited indefinitely similar to that of a Bahian who, referring to a prominent local woman invariably con-

[44] Elements of the distinctive costume, partially African in origin, which is worn in Bahia by Negro women (see chap. ix.).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

sidered white, casually commented: "I learned the other day that she has a Negro grandmother. Someone who knew her family twenty years before she was born showed me a picture of the woman. The grandmother was as black as coal."

That such discovery led, and will lead in all similar cases, to no alteration in the social standing of the individual involved, to no modification in the social esteem in which he or she is held, is a significant indication of the character of the Brazilian racial situation as compared with that in the United States, for example, where a similar revelation would create a scandal. "We never go very far into a person's past," explained another Bahian. "That would be impolite."

The meaning of the term *branco* (white) in Bahia is, as we have indicated, a significant index of the racial situation. A recent comparison of the classification of the first five hundred individuals listed as *brancos* in the files of the Gabinete de Identificação with the photographs (one, sometimes two, occasionally three) attached to the individual's identification record,[45] indicated that the racial probabilities were as given in Table 2.[46]

It is clear that many individuals are considered white at Bahia who not only have Negro ancestors but whose physical characteristics definitely attest this fact. The old saying, "Quem escapa de branco, negro é" ("Who can't be a white

[45] An identification card is required of all students, travelers, applicants for licenses, etc.

[46] Considering the means employed, one must allow perhaps for some error in the result. But the photographs had received no "retouching." And even if color distinctions were still somewhat subject to misinterpretation, hair texture and facial characteristics were rather readily distinguishable. It is quite probable that what error did occur was in the form of an understatement rather than of an exaggeration.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

man is a Negro"), has now been largely replaced by, as Freyre says, the "more Brazilian saying": "Quem escapa de negro, branco é" ("Who isn't a Negro is a white man").

With due regard, then, to such qualifications regarding the precise meaning of *branco* as these facts suggest, we may note that the classification of births in Bahia in 1932 indicated the color distribution to be as given in Table 3.

TABLE 2

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS LISTED AS *Brancos* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1937

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	340	68.0
Mulattoes*	95	19.0
Indian-white mixed-bloods†	39	7.8
Indian-white-Negro mixed-bloods†	26	5.2
Total	500	100.0

* Individuals with the following physical characteristics were noted: (1) nose very broad, lips very full; (2) dark skin, hair almost kinky, lips thick; (3) skin *café com leite* ("coffee with milk"), hair exceedingly curly; (4) hair almost kinky; (5) lips full, nose broad, considerable prognathism.

† Ordinarily only slight traces of Indian ancestry evident in each case.

Since the total registration of births for each of these years averages slightly in excess of five hundred in a city of an estimated 360,000, the records are obviously incomplete. Many midwife deliveries go unrecorded; and, since these births occur usually among the lower classes, which are largely black and dark mulatto, the relative color percentages are probably skewed toward the white pole.

Deaths are less likely to go unrecorded. But since deaths

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

563*

tuted marriages or otherwise, extends personal relations to the point where they inhibit the rise of caste prejudice. Natural ties, personal and familial, grow up to cement with common bonds of sentiment individuals from both racial stocks.

"Racial intermixture has had a long history, a history older than civilization itself," commented Theodoro Sampaio, a prominent Bahian mixed-blood.

> Wherever the conquering Romans went, mixture occurred. Spain and Portugal for centuries interbred with the Moors; Italy, Greece, and the Mediterranean isles, all early mingled their blood with that of Africa. In Crete—that old center of ancient civilization—are statues of men with crinkly (*crespo*) hair. The Gothic hordes which overran Europe as the Roman Empire was crumbling were themselves much mixed; and wherever they went they added their blood to that of the peoples whom they conquered. Race-crossing is obviously no new thing; it has been common the world over wherever races have come together. How natural, then, that Brazil should blend her races into one, and that we Brazilians should become *one* people.

563*
142

Among the mixed-bloods there is still a wide range of variation in physical type. The distribution, however, is probably skewed toward the Caucasian pole. Indian traits have virtually disappeared, the native element having been almost completely absorbed into the predominantly European population. The occasional traces of Indian characters which are still discernible are usually found in combination with Negro characters and are probably a consequence of the recent migration into the city from the *sertão* of predominantly negroid individuals of partial Indian descent.

563*
142
826

To designate some of the intermediate types which extensive intermixture has now produced, a number of popular expressions have arisen. These terms describe the variations more accurately than do the official categories. The latter, as we have seen, are limited to three: *branco*, *preto*, and

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

pardo; but common speech adds *cabra* (or *caibra*), *Cabo Verde* (*Cape Verde*), *sararé*, and *moreno*.

The *cabra*, or *caibra*, is slightly lighter in pigmentation than the *preto* and has hair a little less kinky. The *Cabo Verde* is very dark, with Caucasian features and black, glossy, "straight" hair. The infrequent *sararé* is light in color, with hair red (or sandy) and kinky. The *moreno*, many Bahians say, is the new physical type which Brazil is developing.

Quite significantly, the *morena* (or feminine *moreno*) is the "ideal type" of Bahian femininity. She is in many cases an individual of remarkable beauty. Typically, she has dark-brown eyes and dark hair, quite wavy, perhaps even curly, and Caucasian features; her color is *café com leite* (literally, "coffee with milk"; i.e., like that of one "heavily tanned"), and she has a healthy appearance. The term *morena* is seldom mentioned to a Bahian male without there appearing an instant change in his expression. His face "lights up," and a smile breaks on his lips. He pronounces *morena* with a tone indicative of admiration, affection, desire.[50] He seems pleased, happy in the contemplation of an agreeable object. Poets, both professional and amateur, pour out passionate stanzas in her honor,[51] songs are sung

[50] The *morena* has the reputation of being more desirable than lighter Brazilian women; she is commonly described as "more *ardente*" (passionate), "more *adstringente*" (clinging).

[51] As, for example, the following:

Elsa . . . .
Number One girl,
Pretty little "paca" [small Brazilian animal]
Caboclo-colored butterfly,
Splendidly "*morena*." . . . .

I danced the "*catêrêtê*" *samba* with Elsa,
Her warm flesh quivering,
Her breasts full, almost exploding,
Inside her little white blouse.

And then she fell into my arms willingly, voluptuously,
Her eyes like burning coals,
Her ruby lips
Glued to mine in delirious pleasure.

Ah! Ah! mad girl!
"Bamba" girl!
Devilish girl!

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

to her,[52] romances written.[53] Of 146 male students responding to the query, "All things being equal, whom would you prefer to marry, a *branca*, a *morena*, a *parda*, a *preta*," 117, or 80.1 per cent, replied "a *morena*." Similarly, of 93 white female students responding to a like question, 80, or 86 per cent, preferred a *moreno* for a mate.

The *morena* may, or may not, have African blood.[54] But at least in Bahia this category includes many individuals of partial African descent. For instance, a study of five hundred women classified as *morenas* in the Gabinete de Identificação indicated the probable distribution given in Table 7.

It is the opinion of Arthur Ramos[55] that, although "the charms of the *morena* exert a profound sexual attraction" and the regard in which she is held "has a sexual base in the Freudian sense," the present attitude toward the *morena* "grew out of the enthusiasm and the sentimentalism of the abolition campaign. The *morena* expresses in a symbolic way the union of the two races—the black and the white—and the absence of [caste] prejudice."

The *morena* probably constitutes a decided bond be-

[52] As, for example, the following:

Beautiful morena,
Morena,
Morena who makes me suffer!
The full moon, so bright,
Is not as luminous as your eyes.
You are a *morena*,
A wonderful girl.
There's not a *branca* who hasn't
fallen for you.

Men quarrel over you;
Everyone eagerly anticipates
Your smile.

Your heart is a boarding-house,
A family hotel
Along the seashore.
Oh, *morenínha*, do not rent all!
Leave at least a corner
For me to live in!

Often,
When you pass by,

[53] A rock on the island of Paquetá in Guanabara Bay at Rio de Janeiro very popular with young lovers, has been dedicated to the *morenínha*.

[54] Pronouncing the word *morena* (or *moreno*) with a certain emphasis or changed inflection indicates darker color.

[55] Stated in personal correspondence with the author.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

563 *
192
[832]

At the same time, *meu negro* ("my Negro"), with its variation *meu nego*[6] and diminutive *meu negrinho*, all spoken in soft tones, are terms of endearment used even by whites in speaking to other whites, especially in cases of great intimacy as, for instance, between lovers. Their use constitutes, as a Bahian put it, "um modo de tratar bem" ("a way of being nice"). Occasionally one hears these expressions on the lips of a beggar asking alms of a white and, if he appears well to do, of a mulatto as well. Clerks sometimes employ them in addressing a customer. They appear to call up tender memories of intimate, personal relations like those existent, for example, between Mammy and Scarlett O'Hara in Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*.

[576]

[571]

563 *
192
826 •

The term *branco da Bahia* ("Bahian white") is also heard, although it is ordinarily employed *outside* Bahia. It has reference to the local custom of including many light mixed-bloods in the *branco* category. The phrase *branco por procuração* ("white by proxy") is occasionally used in Bahia but never when speaking to such an individual directly or in his presence. Light mixed-bloods are sometimes referred to as *bem areiadas* ("well sandpapered"); very dark young Negro boys as *pregos* ("nails"); very dark blacks as *pretos retintos* (literally "black blacks," or "black as coal"), and *reclames do pixe* (literally "shouts of tar," i.e., "black as pitch"). The phrase *ele tem genipapo* refers to the possession of *manchas*, as previously noted. Of a person who shows slight traces of Negro ancestry, it is said, "Ele tem dedo na cozinha" ("He has a finger in the kitchen"). Additional descriptive words or phrases include: *de côr escura* ("of dark color"), *de côr*

[193]

[6] The feminine forms are *minha nega*, *minha nega*, and *minha negrinha*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

* 563 192 826

morena, de côr branca, de côr parda, de côr preta, mestiço ("mixed-blood"), and *moleque*.[57]

In the Bahian interior four categories are in common use: *branco, moreno, roxo* ("purple"),[58] and *preto*. *Pardo, mulato*, and *negro* are seldom employed. Occasionally, *curiboca* is used in referring to a cross between a *preto* and an Indian.

Indicative of the (as yet) somewhat indeterminate character of these categories are the variations in meaning which several of these terms seem to have for different individuals. For example, *moreno*, an upper-class lady of European descent said, "might for all practical purposes be considered as identical with *branco*," an opinion concurred in by numerous other individuals from the upper class. But a lower-class *preto* thought of *moreno* as "almost identical with *pardo*"; a lower-class *parda* considered a *moreno* more negroid than a *pardo;* while other individuals made a distinction between two classes of *morenos: morenos claros* ("light *morenos*"), and *morenos escuros* ("dark *morenos*").

* 563 826

In classifying a given individual, hair texture is much more important than color of skin. One often hears in Bahia the expression, "Ele é um pouco escuro, mas o cabello é bom" ("He is a bit dark, but his hair is good").

[57] Also spelled *muleque*. The word is of African origin and was originally used to refer, as we have seen, to a small Negro boy. It is now occasionally employed in Bahia, without regard to color, in the sense of "street urchin."

[58] The purple tinge of the skin of black individuals under the bright rays of the tropical sun is probably responsible for this expression.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

senhores de engenho, fazendeiros, etc.[10] Often they were runaway slaves.[11] In the cities they became masons, cobblers, tinsmiths, soldiers, actors, and at times reached even the small bourgeosie.[12]

The mulatto, owing to his closer approximation in physical characteristics to the European, was better able than the Negro to appropriate certain symbols of status—the small shoe and the little boot, for instance, the wearing of which was an important index of social standing in colonial and imperial Brazil.[13] Small feet, particularly among women, were for a long time, and still are, fashionable.

As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something

[10] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 190–91, 205, 238.

[11] "I heard of a mulatto slave who ran away from his master; and in the course of years had become a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen which he was arranging with his herdsmen to dispatch to different parts for sale, when a stranger who came quite alone, made his appearance, and rode up and spoke to him, saying that he wished to have some private conversation with him. After a little time they retired together; and when they were alone the owner of the estate said, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us, whilst my people were present." It was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made this visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for anything his slave chose to give him. To reclaim him, he well knew, was out of the question—he was in the man's power, who might order him to be assassinated immediately. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and directed some of his men to accompany him with them to a market, giving out among his herdsmen, that he had thus paid a debt of old standing, for which he had only now been called upon" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 244–45).

[12] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 143. In 1774 a law opened to *homens pardos* access "to all offices, honors and dignities, without discrimination on account of difference in color" (*Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional*, XXXVII [1913], 85). See also Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39), I, 168.

[13] "The use of shoes and little boots, which was at first almost entirely limited to persons recently arrived from Portugal, spread among those men

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SL1

B
BB
175
*563
701
B
BB
[794]
B
BB
175
565
B
BB
*175
563
565
291
•826
BB
[764]

As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something analogous to a middle position distinct from either that of the dominant European or that of the subject African. In the colonial period, "to appease the repugnance felt by whites at being put on the same level with mulattoes,"[14] the latter were segregated for military duty. Thus separate battalions were organized at Bahia and elsewhere for whites, for *pardos*,[15] and for *pretos*.[16] Similarly, separate church organizations arose for *pardos* (Palma, Guadaloupe, Boqueirão) as well as for *pretos*.[17]

In the Brazilian rural society of the colonial period Oliveira Vianna identifies three distinct social strata: the predominantly white *senhores* of the upper rank, the predominantly mixed-blood free artisans, *rendeiros*, and petty

---

and women of the Brazilian aristocracy who were blessed with small feet. The difficulties of the blacks, even when serving as pages, to adjust themselves to this new European and aristocratic style so ill adapted to their large and flat feet, can be easily understood. The mulattoes, on the other hand, who possessed smaller feet, well formed according to the European standard, could adapt themselves more readily to a practice which Handelmann observed constituted in nineteenth-century Brazil one of the marks of class distinction" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 329-30).

[14] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 164; see also his *Populaçoes meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 140.

[15] In Bahia, the Regimento dos Pardos. See Luiz dos Santos Vilhena, *Cartas*, edited and annotated by Braz do Amaral (2 vols.; Bahia, 1922), pp. 353-54.

[16] In Bahia, as elsewhere, Os Henriques.

[17] In Bahia, Rosario de João Pereira, Barroquinha, Corpo Santo, Rosario "at the foot of the Pelourinho." Cf. also: "The cemetery for Africans was located next to the Misericordia Cemetery, as one can see from the map made of the city of Salvador and its suburbs by Carlos Augusto Weyll" (J. B. von Spix and C. F. P. von Martius, *Através da Bahia* [excerpts from the larger work, *Reise in Brasilien* (3 vols.; München, 1823-31)], trans. Pirajá da Silva and Paulo Wolf [3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938], pp. 141-42 [translators' note]).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

The mau olhado, or "evil eye," a magical power presumed in many parts of the world, including Europe, to be possessed, often unwittingly, by certain individuals, is thought at Bahia to bring death to plants, birds, and even small children whom the person has coveted or, perhaps, merely admired. More natural forces are the *ar do vento*, or "air of the wind," a cold draught said to result in indigestion, deformity, insanity, or death; the *espinhela caida*, or "fallen breastbone," which presumably brings on an emaciated condition of the body; and *sangue nova*, or "new blood," thought to be responsible for the breaking-out of a rash. Dew must not be allowed to fall on the head. Certain diseases, like syphilis and leprosy, are considered defects common to all men.[16] However, the persistent efforts of agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation have widely disseminated the idea that malaria results from the bite of a mosquito.

The treatment or prevention of disease is the logical counterpart of a magical theory of causation. Thus, members of this section of the Bahian population attempt to control personal destiny through the use of charms or other magical means or through the direct intervention of a deity, whose favor is sought by the offering of gifts or the performance of prescribed rituals. Thus, to counteract the influence of the "evil eye," charms are worn, or pieces of the *Guiné*, *Arruda*, or *Vassourinha Doce* plants are passed, to the accompaniment of magical words, over and about the affected person's head.

goat may be killed, or a doll made and its neck pierced by a bit of wood. Either object is then placed in the doorway of the individual to be harmed or in any other place where he is likely to pass, the one depositing the *feitiço* calling out, as he drops it, the name of the person for whom harm is intended.

[16] "Syphilis," a black explained, "began with the world. Everyone has it, even horses, although it may never show up."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

158

When I was sixteen years old I went across the river to live in São Felix. There was a man there who was crazy. We asked what was the matter with him, and they said that he had seven Exú's[47] in his body. They had given him a cigar and when he began to smoke, he became wild. He was nearly insane. He did not want to hear the word of God. When they talked of going to Mass, he wanted to run away. They took him and tied him up. He stayed this way two whole weeks. Once in a while his relatives came to see him. Finally, they decided to take him to a *candomblé*. They untied him and he went. For a long time he remained there and kept on acting the same way. Then the head of the *candomblé* took a hand in the matter. He ordered them to get black cloth, candles, *azeite de dendê*, incense, and several other things which he needed. After he had finished, he gave the man a bath to clean him up. When twelve o'clock came, he stretched him out in the middle of the floor. And there he lay all sprawled out. We saw a black Negro with red lips sitting on his knee. He was about-this high [indicating approximately two and one-half feet], and as black as coal. His lips were as red as the lid of that can [indicating a *matte* container with bright red cover]. He had large ears that stuck out like this [indicating about a twelve-inch spread]. He was horrible. His horns were this long [indicating about six inches]. And his tail, about a meter. His eyes were big, like this [indicating an oval three inches in diameter]. They were the size of "three children."[48] His tongue looked like a snake's; it was really four separate tongues. And he was sitting there on the man's knee. We were all afraid. We wanted to run; but we dared not. He didn't stay long. Only about ten minutes. He left the man's knee and disappeared into the body of the man who had bought and brought the "things." The *pae de santo* filled up a basin, and Exú took himself away. We did not see him disappear. Ten minutes later the man got up, feeling better. He had been sitting there crying hard. They shaved off his hair, washed his head and painted it with a pencil, white, blue, pink, and lavender. Then they

159 755 776

158 159 755

[47] Exú (pronounced "Ā-shu") is an African deity who is often, although not always, thought of as possessing an evil nature. See chap. x.

[48] This expression was explained in the following manner: "A person looking into an ordinary eye sees the image of one child; in Exú's eyes the image was three times as big."

[826]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

persist, setting apart to some extent a (comparatively small) portion of the black population.

20. Lynching and the rape of white women by colored men are both unknown, "passing" has no point, and circumstances are not ordinarily conducive to the appearance of the "marginal man."

21. One drop of African blood does not, as in the United States (if known), class a mixed-blood as a Negro. Instead, many individuals are listed in the official statistics as whites, and are similarly known in the community, who not only have African ancestors but actually give some evidence of this descent in their color and features.

22. Prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which one finds inside the ranks of the Negro in the United States.

23. It is possible that the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods, lacking as they do in most cases the sense of inferiority long characteristic of the Negro in the United States, particularly of the mixed-blood, have been less activated by personal ambition. Feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a hostile white world their individual talents and abilities, they have not had the same incentive for social advancement and, consequently, have not, perhaps, as a group, risen in class as rapidly as has the Negro in the United States.

24. Although Brazil seems never to have had a formal racial policy, the traditional behavior which originally grew up and took shape under the influence of the immediate and unreflecting responses to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life gave rise to an *informal* racial policy, or racial ideology, which underlies and gives consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and

[SALVADOR]

/10 cont./

*563 •826 In order to understand the composition of the local population and to interpret correctly the demographic statistics of Bahia, ancient and modern, it is necessary to be well acquainted with the meaning of the terms that serve to designate the different physical types brought together in its vast melting pot. The most common expressions are branco, preto, mulato, pardo, moreno, and caboclo, which one may translate as: White, Black, mulatto (1).

[192]

[192] [128] 1. There are no common French terms to designate the terms pardo, moreno, caboclo, the explanation of which is given farther on. We shall therefore leave them in their Brazilian form in these pages.

[829] These terms seemingly designate definite physical types; in reality, their meaning is inspired much more by the social context than by racial characteristics such as the color of the skin, the hair, and the shape of the face.

*563 827 829 565 In a general way Whites are individuals of white phenotype; very tall persons with light eyes and with hair likewise light and fine are often called brancos finos (fine Whites) because they do show any signs of mixture with colored types. Nevertheless individuals who are wealthy and of high rank, whatever their appearance, may very well be called Whites. When one hears a person of humble station, a servant or agricultural worker, call a superior "my White," one is sometimes surprised to discover that the person to whom the title is addressed has a very dark complexion. The stevedores and porters, who are almost all black, indiscriminately call Whites and mulattoes of prosperous appearance "my White." The common people never cease saying that "the one who has money is White."

A colored sociologist says that "a Brazilian Black can become white to the extent that he rises economically and acquires the attitude of the upper groups." Assignment to an upper social class in Brazil is based more on the culture or the economic position of an individual than on his racial characteristics. The

[SALVADOR]

826 /10 cont./
829 mulattoes of light complexion, socially "whitened" or "Whites
* 563 in color" (brancos na côr), are commonly called "Whites of the
565 land" (brancos da terra) or "Whites of Bahia" (2),
[192]

2. According to Donald Pierson, the Whites of Bahia are "very light métis /persons of mixed blood / who in Bahia are generally considered Whites"; cf. Brancos e pretos na Bahia /Whites and Blacks in Bahia/, São Paulo, 1945, p. 200. [114] In commenting on this definition, a writer from Bahia explains that it does not rest upon an observation based on physical anthropology. Factors of a sociological order enter into this specification and make defining it difficult. J. [113] Valadares, "Brancos da Bahia," Estado da Bahia, 2, VI, Bahia, 1943 (this comment refers to an article published by Pierson in 1943).

when they occupy an important position and when one /11/ does not wish to offend them by calling them mulattoes. In the characterization of these "presumed Whites," fortune or social rank always plays a large part. In speaking of a light métis /a person with mixed blood/ with slightly Negroid features, one may say with a certain irony: "So-and-So is White, socially speaking, since he has already occupied one of the highest positions in the State." It is for these reasons that a physician from Bahia who had taken up the study of anthropology wrote as early as 1898 that "anatomically the Whites of Bahia are placed between the pardos and the direct descendants of Portuguese not of mixed blood (1)."

[113] 1. J. B. Sá Oliveira, Evoluçao psiquica dos bahianos /Psychic evolution of the Bahians/, Bahia, 1898, p. 51.

[SALVADOR]

826 /11 cont./
829 Pretos, or Blacks, are all the individuals who show the physi-
563 cal characteristics of the Black, particularly the very dark skin,
576 "the color of charcoal," the frizzy hair, the flat nose, and the
[192] very thick lips. But to use the expression "Negro" /Fr. nègre/ is considered less courteous and sometimes even offensive. A physician who worked in a dermatology clinic registered as "Negro" a patient who had come to be treated; but the father of the latter came to the physician to protest that he should substitute for this term that of preto (Black) or escuro (dark /Fr. foncé/).

[192] A person who is speaking to a Black of a lower class may say to him, in speaking of another Black, "Someone black like you"; but if it is a matter of a person belonging to a higher class, good form requires that one use the term escuro (dark) or even moreno. Several informants reported that the students of certain black professors with crude manners say of them that they have the "manners of Negroes." In the same way, a dark mulatto intellectual knows that if one wishes to offend him one calls him "this Negro," and a Black practicing a liberal profession is not unaware either that his political adversaries, in speaking of him, say "the Negro Léonard." It is not rare to hear Whites and morenos protest in a low voice against the bad manners, the bursts of laughter, the gossip of these "Negroes," when Blacks and mulattoes give free vent to their noisy gaiety in public conveyances, in cinemas, or in the streets. Nevertheless the expression "my Negro" is a term of friendship, even among Whites. Sometimes the term "Negro" is used as a diminutive, "a sympathetic [196] little Negro" /Fr. négrillon/, without containing any unkind implication. On the other hand, the word nigrinha, the feminine form of the same diminutive, has a pejorative and insulting meaning; it is applied to young colored people of questionable reputation. To act like a nigrinha is equivalent to behaving badly.

175 In the first years of colonization, Indians were often desig-
563 nated by the name of Negro. The use of this /12/ word, the true
829 meaning of which has been established only recently, caused much embarrassment to historians who sought to unravel the respective role of Indians and Blacks in the formation of Brazilian civilization. A Portuguese law of 1755 stipulates that Indians must not be

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term applied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen, the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove from the word any pejorative meaning.

[196]

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

*563 829 192 •826 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (una mulatinha). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction, one does not use any of these terms; one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a moreno, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses; if they are granfinas (1),

1. Granfino, granfina may be translated by "very refined."

they become light morenas; and one could even add morenas the color of jambo (2).

[824] 2. Jambo, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (Eugenia sp.).

[533 541 204] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival. In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes, it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which pardo or

*563 562 829 192 826 morena is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a sentimental value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of this preference, the morena type has been celebrated in prose and in verse by our writers. And this morena, it goes without saying,

[SALVADOR]

826
*563 /13 cont./
562 may not be of African blood (3).
829
192
[113]

3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
175 of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
829 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
648 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
641 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
576 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
192 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

144 The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
192 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.

The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

144
*563
829
815
[113]

1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

/27 cont./
829 white countries (1).
*563
[113]

1. Romulo Almeida, interview for the Diario Trabelhista, 28, 11, Rio de Janeiro, 1946.

829 The mulattoes, according to others, are supposed to be affected
*563 in their manner of speaking, wishing to display their erudition.
537 The comment of a journalist about a politician is characteristic
157 of this way of thinking: "Without complexes or repressions ... he reasons dispassionately, which is astonishing on the part of a red curiboca (2)

[192]
[826]

2. Curiboca, métis of Indian and Black; roxo, bluish red, a warm and dark shade of the pigmentation of the skin of certain métis.

like him. Not having the tropical verbosity of mulatto good speakers..., he is mentally a Nordic who sets forth his ideas without the cerebral complications such as are esteemed among the bachelor /referring to the academic degree/ morenos of our country" (3).

[154]

3. "This tendency to use an elaborate language seems to be a sort of compensation for a feeling of inferiority," says V. L. Bicudo in "Attitudes raciales des Noirs et des mulâtres de São Paulo /Racial attitudes of the Blacks and mulattoes of São Paulo/," Sociologia, Vol. IX, No. 3, São Paulo, 1947, p. 211.

829 Opinions about the mulattoes, especially about those who try to
*563 advance themselves by means of intellectual activities, always
157 throw into relief the weak points of their personality and almost always give an unfavorable interpretation of their character. A literary critic of Bahia, commenting on the works of the greatest Brazilian novelist, the mulatto Machado de Assis, expresses this

[SALVADOR]

/37 cont./

*563 565 for many people, is more a question of class than a question of race, "the primacy of culture and of class" having the ascendancy, one may say with a mulatto educator that "if he has money, education, and manners, the Black can elevate himself." This synthesis, however, does not exhaust all the aspects of the problem. A very dark woman of liberal profession declares that "a Black, in order to elevate himself socially, must have talent and friendships." [571] In truth, good personal and family relationships are very important for everybody in Bahia, whether in trade, in administration, or in politics. A maxim constantly cited by Brazilians teaches that "a friend at hand is worth more than money in the till," which means that any enterprise is easier when the interested party is given a "personal" introduction by a friend of the person with whom he must deal. One informant insists on explaining that she does not believe money has a great influence on the social ascent of colored people; she knows several among them who, having previously made a fortune, did not succeed in elevating themselves. [156] "For in order to elevate oneself it is necessary not to have an inferiority complex. There are many Blacks who not only do not dare to approach Whites of a high class, but transmit this fear to their children." The fact that the black color recalls the ancient slaves is cited by many as an explanation for the difficulties that the darkest ones encounter in attaining a high rank. [567] [826] "Lately risen from the depths of slavery," writes a priest of mixed blood, "rare are the Negroes who succeed in reaching a high level or position. [571] As for mulattoes and morenos (who are not true Blacks), we can say that, from all points of view, they live in harmony with the Whites, at least here in Bahia." A doctor makes the same comment: "As far as the morenos are concerned, they have a position equivalent to that of the Whites; but it is not correct to say that the Blacks can easily attain the highest offices or positions of the first order in the most esteemed professions. As for mulattoes, one finds some of them in the positions that we have just named, without being able to deny, however, that for the métis whose color closely approaches that of the Negroes, this pigmentation of the skin creates obstacles to the various careers mentioned. On

[SALVADOR]

/37 cont./

*563 565 the other hand, the métis with straight hair and a color very close to that of the white race could succeed in the different branches of human activity without having to suffer any annoyance of an ethnic nature."

• [826] Notwithstanding all these difficulties, colored people, especially the lightest ones and those whose features bring them closer /38/ to the Whites, may achieve a rank as high as the latter. As [114] will be seen in the following chapters, they may marry Whites, according to their social position; they may have a pre-eminent place in the liberal professions, in the intellectual life; they may be admitted into the organizations through which one acquires prestige and social rank, which confirms the thesis already set forth by Pierson, that "what we find in Bahia is a multiracial society of classes" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 408.

*563 565 554 571 The social ascent of colored persons, although it is brought about with relative facility, is not without consequence for those who attain it. It is somewhat like "passing" /quoted in English/ for the North American Negroes: those who elevate themselves not only experience doubts and difficulties on the subject of their position, but they are also the object of resentment by some of those -- and they are numerous -- who remain in the lower strata of society.

When he elevates himself to the social rank that is to assimilate him culturally and socially with the White by endowing him with his "social skin," the Black is often criticized because he wants "to act the White" or because he "no longer wants to be colored."

*563 565 554 571 124 Numerous informants pointed out certain colored individuals who are considered that kind and who, they said, would certainly refuse to be interviewed for the investigation. Some of them actually avoided speaking of the racial problem, politely diverting the conversation to other subjects, under the pretext that they did not know anything about the subject and all that was of no importance among us. The author, in spite of his experience in the milieus

[SALVADOR]

/42 cont./

*563 557 the advances of dark men, but accept those of Whites, however disrespectful. That is why, he explains, they either become concubines of the latter, or else they do not marry.

*563 829 • 826 832 The white and blond woman, on the other hand, is represented as being strongly attracted by men with a very pigmented skin. A light mulatto, regarded very highly in his profession, is not attracted by dark women, although he admits that they are striking and pretty; he prefers the "Whites, very white." According to what he said, many men of his kind have this same inclination, quite independently of the idea of "purifying the race." He adds that the finas Whites have a real taste for the Blacks, whom they consider particularly virile and strong, and they do not take those who have manners that are too refined. Other informants, on the contrary, speak without enthusiasm of this type of women, whom they consider cold and frail. "Color gives health," says one of them, and he adds that even the Whites think so. "Very light women are repugnant to some men," declares one métis; "I even know a European who has an inclination to vomit when he sees one of them." All these opinions on the very white woman are [191] of the same order as those that in the United States, according to John Dollard (1),

> 1. "It seems possible that the image of the white woman is in part preserved from sexual thoughts and allusions of the same order, while the black woman tends to bear the entire brunt of uncontrolled sexual desire... If the black women are represented as sexually desirable in the white popular imagination, the black men are represented as particularly virile and experienced in this domain." Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New York, 1949, p. 1 ff. [113]

serve as protection against colored men and sometimes even against Whites. The morena, moreover, is regarded as the most ardent feminine type and even, sexually speaking, the most accessible. Numerous informants who have a plan to marry Whites explain or imply that they are looking for light, socially white métisses.

[SALVADOR]

/45 cont./

*563 829 The Whites justify their opposition to marriages with Blacks, not only by ideologies concerning the mental and moral inferiority of the Black, but also by an "instinctive" repulsion to certain organic characteristics of Africans and their close descendants. A mulatto, reared among Europeans, expresses this attitude by saying that "it is not so much the color prejudice that is strong in Bahia as the instinctive repulsion of the white race for the taint of the sister race when it is pure or almost pure: bad odor, color, etc., which does not fail to provoke disagreeable comments about the descendants of Ham." It should be noted that, *563 829 828 147 concerning the "bad odor," that of the Blacks is regarded as something inherent in their nature and thus irremediable, the disagreeable odor of the Portuguese and the other immigrants being attributed solely to the lack of body care. This conception puts the Black in a special and inferior psychological category, many Whites not knowing that they themselves emit an odor intolerable to the Asiatics and to the Blacks (1).

*563 829 757 826

1. It is interesting to note what happens in blood transfusion. When this was done directly from donor to recipient, often the white patient or his family preferred white donors, showing annoyance when the donor was mulatto or black. At present, with the system of preserved blood, almost no one asks what the "quality" of the donor is, except Jews and certain foreigners, especially Europeans who demand blood from members of their family or their "race." In the first instance, what motivated the attitude of the Whites was above all the fact that the donor was lying in a bed parallel to that of the sick person, a situation recalling the intimacy of two persons who sleep side by side.